

15 * **Porn Goes to College: American Universities, Their Students, and Pornography, 1968–1973**

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On February 7, 1969, on the campus of the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana—an all-male (until 1972) Catholic university in a fairly conservative, moderately sized rust belt city—students and police clashed for the first, and possibly only, time in the school's history. As the conflict came to its climax, a photographer caught a shot of a non-uniformed officer macing a student (figure 15.1). The image is a familiar one from the era, but what had caused the clash was not the students protesting the Vietnam War or occupying the administration building. Rather, they had been attempting to screen—albeit in defiance of strict instructions from the county prosecutor and university administrators not to do so—two “obscene” experimental art films that showed genitalia and sexual acts: Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* (1963) and Andrew Noren's *Kodak Ghost Poems* (1968).

Four and a half years later, on September 29, 1973, at the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia—a coed but barely integrated state university in a fairly conservative small, tourist town—eight hundred students, along with a few townsfolk, spread themselves around the college's new basketball arena. They were assembled to hear sexploitation pioneer Russ Meyer, critic Judith Crist, Citizens for Decent Literature (CDL) spokesman Robert K. Dornan, Virginia-based evangelist Pat Robertson, hardcore impresario Gerard Damiano, and—presumably in the name of inclusiveness—*Mission: Impossible*'s African American co-star, Greg Morris, debate issues of obscenity and the law. Both before and after the debate, attendees were invited to screen Meyer's softcore *Vixen!* (1968) and Damiano's decidedly hardcore *The Devil in Miss Jones* (1973) at the twin cinema near campus. Although the debate got heated and the shows were packed, there were no riots or arrests—the screenings took place under the watchful eyes of a sheriff and a judge dispatched by the Commonwealth's attorney.

In *Hollywood v. Hard Core*, Jon Lewis notes that in August 1973, the New School for Social Research in New York promoted “the first porn movie course ever offered at an American university.” Lewis says it was



Fig. 15.1 A South Bend, Indiana, undercover police officer maces a University of Notre Dame student protester, February 7, 1969. This photo first appeared in a special edition of the *Notre Dame Observer* the following day and was reprinted at the head of a special section in the University yearbook for 1968–1969. (Courtesy the *Notre Dame Observer*.)

“less a course than a lecture series”—with no films but publishers from Grove Press and *Screw* magazine and a CDL spokesman as guests, it was a version of the William & Mary panel strung out over a series of weeks—nonetheless *Variety* covered it under the headline “Pornography Joins the Curriculum.” For Lewis, “the academy’s confirmation of the cultural significance of porn affirmed the fact that by late summer of 1973 hardcore was no longer so significant anymore.”¹

Given the difference between the Notre Dame experimental film riot of 1969 and the peaceful William & Mary porn double bill of 1973, there is something compelling about Lewis’s argument. Certainly, using the macroscopic lens of industrial-cultural history that Lewis deploys, his conclusion makes sense. Still, there was an audience of eight hundred people for a *debate*, an audience most campus events with even a hint of scholarly flavor only dream of. And there was that sheriff and judge. From the perspective of *Variety* in New York, the New School’s lecture series might appear as “a kind of curio, even a gag,” but the news hadn’t yet traveled to small-town Virginia.² Put differently, cultural significance develops unevenly, and the specific locales of differing iterations of “the academy” may play an important role in those processes. In this essay,

we pursue a microhistorical analysis to try to understand how and why these events happened at Notre Dame and William & Mary and, more broadly, to start to understand the role that college campuses and students may have played in bringing attention to film pornography outside America's big cities.

Before continuing, we should note several things about our relation to these events as subject for scholarly analysis. First, we are implicated in our study: both of us are or have been directly affiliated with William & Mary (W&M) and indirectly with Notre Dame (ND).³ Second, our discovery of these events was coincidental: we came upon the W&M event as part of ongoing research on film exhibition and moviegoing in Williamsburg across the twentieth century; we "discovered" the events at ND when Kevin told his father about the W&M event, and Mr. Flanagan recalled a story from his freshman yearbook. Third, we were surprised to discover—and initially quite skeptical—that such events had taken place at ND and W&M. The ND riot and the W&M panel and screenings did not match our sense of the present-day character of these two universities and their adjoining communities or our understanding of how they had developed those characters over the last several decades. We were not alone in our surprise. Colleagues at both institutions were flabbergasted by reports of our initial findings.

This third point perhaps implies our last point of relation: we believe that there are quite direct, but also obscured, connections between the events of the late 1960s and early 1970s and present-day events at ND and W&M, and beyond. The events we examine here, which catalyzed around films labeled obscene or pornographic, were about struggles over public representations of and discussions about sex and sexuality. As we've researched these events from roughly forty years ago, we've seen surprisingly similar struggles unfold around us—albeit with motion picture pornography now more frequently as an unspoken background rather than the foreground—as though these earlier events had never happened. All attempts to narrate, analyze, and understand the past are inevitably shaped by the time in which they are undertaken, but for our project the desire to understand the past's complex place in the present has become explicit.

Film was the catalyst for the events at ND and W&M for several reasons. American cinephilia was reaching its apex in this period, a phenomenon generally seen as situated in cities. But university film series and clubs played a vital role in cultivating young, educated, intellectual audiences who read critics such as Andrew Sarris and Pauline Kael, patronized the first film festivals in the United States, and supported

institutions such as Dan Talbot's New Yorker repertory cinema. As many critics and historians have noted, an important element of the rise of post-World War II cinephilia was an appreciation of the serious and "mature" themes exemplified by European art films. Ultimately, this demand was accommodated in mainstream American movie culture via the adoption in November 1968 of the MPAA rating system, which stratified the audience by age (younger and older than seventeen) and level of maturity. Consequently, the ratings system both gave rise to films aimed at the "mature" audience and made that audience—coinciding precisely with the majority of college-age students—emphatically visible. This new, doubled visibility dovetailed with rising concerns that the mature, college-aged audience was changing in fundamental ways, particularly in its approaches to sex and sexuality. Film did not cause these changes. But as a popular medium with a half-hidden history of "blue" representations, as a commercial interest in representing current trends that seemed to be tending toward the explicit, as a mediated quality that could present events unfolding in time but shield its viewers from live flesh, *and* as a site of consumption at once dark and private and brazenly public and social, cinema could powerfully focus attention on such changes and distill the attendant anxieties.

The tensions around this knot of issues is nicely symbolized by reports that during the Notre Dame riot Kathy Cecil, a junior at ND's all-women's sister school, St. Mary's, attempted to rescue *Flaming Creatures* and *Kodak Ghost Poems* from the police by hiding the reels under her dress.⁴ Judith Crist, one of the participants in the W&M events, recalled for us her first opportunity to see a stag film around 1960, when she was covering the hearings by the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. A piece of evidence—she thinks it was called "Breaking in Blondie"—was about to be screened for the reporters pool, but as the film began her fellow journalists, all men, demanded she leave the room. "It's not that they didn't want me to see the film," she asserts. "They didn't want me to see them seeing the film."⁵ In South Bend a bit less than a decade after Crist's screening room ejection, the landscape of *seeing* was both the same and different. Apparently Kathy Cecil's fellow male students didn't mind being seen looking, but as importantly, Cecil was willing to be seen looking—and to go to considerable lengths to be permitted to do so. For the ND administration and for the county prosecutor, such empowered looking was untenable. At the later W&M events, mixed looking was still policeable, if not as spectacularly so.

This chapter has three parts. The first describes an array of discourses, public events, and episodes that focus on the intersection of colleges

and college students with obscene film and pornography. During the Vietnam years, college and university campuses were becoming more visible to the American public as a home to the “counterculture.” The most violent clashes between the mainstream of American society and the counterculture—the Kent and Jackson State killings of May 1970—happened in the middle of our period. In light of such events, controversies over pornography on college campuses may appear trivial, but such controversies existed on a continuum that emphasized the increasing symbolic visibility of colleges and their students. The second and third parts of this chapter examine more closely the ND and W&M events. Our aim is to provide detail about how pornography began to make its way “on/scene,” to use Linda Williams’s term, in areas of the country outside the metropolises.⁶ Our cases also provide new information about the unevenly gendered spaces for the public consumption of porn. *Deep Throat* and the rise of “porn chic” in 1972 have often been noted as a watershed, when women began to attend hardcore porn films and when women and men first began to encounter hardcore together. Although these generalizations have some basis, our research suggests that in lived experience, especially in small towns, the picture was more complex. Outside of cities, the quasi-public/quasi-private, apparently noncommercial, pedagogical, and “protected” space of the college campus was the primary location of the mixed, public look at porn.

“Porn and Man [and Woman] at Yale,” and Beyond

We’ve admitted being surprised at discovering the ND and W&M events, but should we have been? Yes and no.⁷

Our first assumption was that if such attention to pornographic film had occurred at these two universities, similar attention must have been commonplace. As far as we have been able to determine, beside the New School lectures, that was not the case. So our surprise was warranted. Perhaps. The qualification is necessary because colleges and universities provide a challengingly dispersed field of research. We describe at the end of this section the efforts we’ve made to cover the field, but we may as well put the cliché here rather than at our conclusion: more research is needed. College or university faculty members and students may wish to explore their own school’s and town’s historical relationship to porn.

Nevertheless, if our surprise about these two *specific* events was warranted, at a more general level it was probably not. There are connections of long standing between colleges and ideas about and images of sex. For instance, the coed seems to have percolated in the American (male)

sexual imaginary's stock of desiring, and possibly lascivious, female characters since at least the late 1920s, when precode Hollywood made films such as *The Bare Co-Ed* (1928) and *Confessions of a Co-Ed* (1931). The fraternity house provides one of the storied, elusive, semiopenly secret locations for the all-male enjoyment of stag films: Judith Crist recalled her brother telling her about such events during his college days in the late 1940s and early 1950s; Tom Waugh reports seeing a stag film with his dorm mates in 1968; also, in the late 1960s, researchers for the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography noted that "college fraternities in the [Denver] area frequently scheduled stag parties" and that, along with "an Air Force officer, an advertising agency executive, an automobile salesman, [and] a lifeguard, . . . several college athletes . . . could 'get' Class A [i.e., hardcore] films."⁸ Finally, the Kinsey Institute at Indiana University became a site for the academic study of human sexuality and also for the collection of pornography in 1947.⁹

Beyond these broad associations of colleges and pornography, we have found three more specific instances that we believe began circulating in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The first is proximity of purveyors of pornography, especially movie theaters, *near* university campuses. Such instances sometimes appear in the historical record via legal action and reform efforts. For example, one of the Supreme Court's late rulings of the 1960s against prior restraint was in the case of *Lee Art Theatre vs. Virginia* (1968). The Lee Art Theatre went through many incarnations as a cinema, but by the late 1960s it showed porn. It was also adjacent to Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) in Richmond, which was growing and consolidating at the time.¹⁰ The Court's short ruling makes no mention of VCU or its students, but it is hard to imagine that the proximity of the "mature" audience offered by VCU wasn't both an inducement to the Lee's owners and to the prosecutors. Similarly, a sociological study of antiobscenity activists around 1970 finds that reformers at both study sites, "Midville" and "Southtown," focused their attention on locations next to college campuses. The reformers' worries over obscenity were spurred in large measure by this location, and those concerns had two somewhat contradictory flavors: first, concern for students' moral well-being and, second, anxiety that universities and the college-age audiences would serve as a sort of Trojan horse of liberality or libertinism.¹¹ Another study from the same period, albeit one done in San Francisco and using a self-selecting survey method, found evidence that would have alarmed the Midville and Southtown reformers: 53 percent of adult movie theater patrons had college or graduate degrees, and another 29 percent had at least some college education. By comparison, 17 percent

of adult bookstore patrons had college degrees, with 14 percent more having some college and none having graduate degrees.¹² In a different survey, adult film exhibitors reported that their “customers [were] almost invariably males in their late twenties to fifties, and that young people typically are not customers except in theaters near a college.”¹³

Proximity of porn purveyors to colleges garnered attention by itself, but additional attention was drawn by the gender makeup of audiences for college-town porn cinemas. In Waterloo, Iowa, home of the University of Northern Iowa, one journalist writing in 1970 estimated that women were 40 percent of the audience at the Mini Cinema 16.¹⁴ At about the same time, in Amherst, Massachusetts, only 13 percent of the audience for the “adult theater” were women. When put into context, however, this comparatively small number is in fact quite large. Studies of similar theaters in New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, Kansas City, Missouri, and Springfield, Massachusetts, showed the proportion of women in the audience was no greater than 5 percent (in the suburbs of New York) and in most other locations was 1 or 2 percent.¹⁵ The women of the Amherst-area colleges may not have gone to the adult theater as often as those at the University of Northern Iowa, but they went in much greater numbers than women outside college towns.

A second class of association between colleges and porn is students as porn actors and makers. Performer Mary Rexroth seems to have been a student when she began her career in San Francisco.¹⁶ Researchers for the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography interviewed another Mary (no last name attributed), also in San Francisco, the daughter of a small-town dentist, who “was an anthropology major at U.C. Berkeley until she dropped out in June 1969.” They also spoke to a San Francisco theater owner who claimed, “Most of the girls come from well-off middle-class families. They have gone to college, if not graduated. Their appearance in sex films is a way to show off their new-found sexual freedom.”¹⁷ The college connection was not just in front of the camera. Rexroth claimed that many of the filmmakers she encountered were students who wanted “to play around with the camera and not have to spend eight years loading magazines at a television station.”¹⁸ Leo Productions, a pioneer in 16 mm porn production, drew heavily on San Francisco State University’s filmmaking program, and Jim Mitchell (of the Mitchell Brothers, makers of *Behind the Green Door* [1972]) moved into his career directly from San Francisco State.¹⁹ Beyond college connections to porn audiences, performers, or makers, Eric Schaefer argues that because of campus film societies, the increasingly common 16 mm *format* of porn in the late sixties was seen as associated “with college students [and] im-

PLICITLY linked with . . . radical change.”²⁰ Richard Schickel, writing in 1970, claimed “most colleges these days [are] full of film freaks.”²¹ Some of those “freaks” wanted to be filmmakers and some, at least in San Francisco, became pornographers. By the early seventies, the Midville and Southtown reformers, the country prosecutor in South Bend, and the Commonwealth’s attorney in Williamsburg didn’t need to know these specific connections to follow the more general associative logic of cultural infection (the “natural curiosity” of students, as one Midville reformer put it) and grow very alarmed.²²

The final class of association between colleges and porn brings us still closer to the Notre Dame and Williamsburg events—that is, formal college community scrutiny of pornography or, more often, of its putative social effects. Although the ND and W&M events appear to have been unique in their size and ambition to mix debate, critical reflection, and the display of sexually explicit films, there were smaller events at many colleges around the country. Judith Crist said she spoke on the “hot topic” of film obscenity and censorship at quite a few universities at the time—“Texas, Montana, similar Midwestern places”—though she recalled generally being the only speaker on the bill and that films weren’t shown.²³ In 1971, Reverend Morton A. Hill, founder of Morality in Media, lectured on “Erotic Literature and Pornography” at the SUNY Buffalo School of Library and Information Science, and in the same year, William B. Lockhart, University of Minnesota law professor and chair of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, lead a discussion on obscenity at Mankato State College in Mankato, Minnesota.

But critics, reformers, and professors weren’t the only campus guests to address issues of porn. In this period pornographic filmmakers and performers also started getting invited to campuses: in February 1970—its first academic year admitting women—Yale held an eight-film Russ Meyer retrospective. Richard Schickel, covering the event for *Harper’s*, noted that “many [Yale men] brought dates,” that “a couple of girls from the Women’s Liberation movement” protested, and that, in coming to Yale, Meyer had crossed “age and class [and regional] barriers and . . . been greeted as a conquering hero.”²⁴ Other Meyer retrospectives were held over the following year at the University of Illinois, University of California, Northwestern, Georgia State, and Princeton.²⁵ Although details are scant and dates uncertain, Linda Lovelace’s autobiographies and interviews with various other porn stars also sometimes mention in passing appearances before college audiences in this period.²⁶

By 1969–1971, then, before “porno chic” and congruent with more well-publicized and spectacular events—for instance, erotic film festi-

vals in expected places such as San Francisco and New York—it seems porn had gone to college. And college students—including, apparently, more and more women—had gone to porn. Still, the evidence we’ve presented for this is somewhat scattered and fugitive. In the absence of centralized collections of college and university newspapers, we’ve turned to the American alternative press—collected on microfilm in the “Underground Newspaper Collection”—to provide further background for our claims about the connections between colleges and pornography.²⁷ A significant proportion of the alternative press, especially outside of large cities, was explicitly “alternative” to official university newspapers. For instance, the Austin *Rag* self-consciously positioned itself in opposition to the University of Texas’s *Daily Texan* and was staffed largely by students at UT; the Newark, Delaware, *Heterodoxical Voice* was at odds with the University of Delaware; and the Grinnell, Iowa, *Pterodactyl* was an alternative voice for Grinnell College students. The underground press was heterogeneous, but it divided roughly between papers that focused on a specific issue (e.g., labor, anarchism, vegetarianism) and those that focused on cultural politics.

This latter form, still recognizable in much of the remaining U.S. alternative press, was the form most often associated with colleges and universities. It was, quite literally, born out of the rising tensions in the United States around normative (or nonnormative) sex and sexuality, especially as represented in public. Sex and sexuality were topics that featured in many first issues of college alternate papers, that made the headlines frequently in these papers, that provided for eye-catching visuals (predominantly, but not exclusively, depicting female nudity), and that sometimes led to the papers themselves being declared obscene or pornographic.²⁸

Film was an important substrand of this alternative press discourse on sex. It first appeared in the mid-1960s as a slightly embarrassed camp attention to nudie-cuties, which then overlapped attention to experimental and European art films, which, in turn, overlapped attention to the rise of hardcore porn features and related fare. The alternative press was consistently pro-sex and pro free expression, but from the mid-1960s to the Supreme Court’s *Miller v. California* decision in 1973 its writers, photo editors, layout artists, and advertising people struggled to balance a celebration of sexuality that used direct, pictorial representation with critiques of commodification and female objectification. By the time of *Deep Throat*, this balance of celebration and critique was becoming more apparently difficult. The Alternative Features Service (AFS), which syndicated news to underground papers, reported at the start of

1973 that “sex papers”—formerly alternative papers that had turned to sexual content to sustain circulation—were “driv[ing] the alternative papers off the streets, [making] the chances for papers concerned with the evils of sexism and other social issues to have a meaningful impact on the public consciousness appear dim.”²⁹ Whether the AFS diagnosis of the causes of the waning underground press was accurate or not, many papers, including many affiliated with colleges, had closed by 1973. But such developments were uneven: the *Ghent Press*, a short-lived paper from the Norfolk, Virginia, neighborhood that houses Old Dominion University (ODU), themed one of its first issues in September 1973 with the question, “What is Smut?” The issue mixed free speech and positions against commodification of sex but was anchored by a condemnation of the local “Porno Raid,” which shut down—and ensured ODU students as well as students at the nearby, historically black Norfolk State University couldn’t see—*The Devil in Miss Jones*.³⁰

“This is Insane, I Can’t Believe It”

The “Pornography and Censorship Conference” at Notre Dame precipitated a perfect storm of American anxieties of the late 1960s in which pornography and obscenity came to stand for a host of other concerns about the autonomy of young people, the culture and politics of youth, the proper political organization of the United States, and even the behavior of the United States as a world superpower.³¹ These concerns were hardly particular to ND or South Bend, Indiana, but what was unique was the conflicting ideas that existed about ND’s status as America’s best-known Catholic university. These conflicts provided the catalyst for the deployment of “mace at Notre Dame.”³²

The impulse behind the conference held on February 1969 at Notre Dame originated in February 1968, when the Notre Dame Center for Continuing Education sponsored a one-day “seminar on the problem of obscenity, particularly its availability to young persons” and the “national and local implications” of that availability.³³ No students were involved in organizing the seminar, and they went unmentioned in the outreach materials that promised “the affair will bring together attorneys, postal officials, law enforcement officers, publishers, legislators, doctors and interested citizens.”³⁴ Local members of the antipornography CDL played a key role in organizing the event, which may account for the swerving in its publicity materials between the rhetoric of “intelligent inquiry” and nationalist nostalgia: “Not so long ago, many of the

books and periodicals currently available on our newsstands were held to be obscene by the courts. They could be secured only at great expense and with great secrecy. . . . Today, our motion pictures and plays also reflect changes in public attitudes and in the laws governing obscenity.”³⁵ No one involved in the production, distribution, or sale of (or admitted consumption of) these materials was included among seminar participants.

The event in 1969 differed dramatically from the organization and spirit of the 1968 seminar. The “Pornography and Censorship Conference” was organized and sponsored by the Student Union Academic Commission, and it was ambitious in scope: It was to begin on a Wednesday evening with Allen Ginsberg reading and end the following Monday with an open community discussion. In between would be an art exhibit (works by Claes Oldenberg and Ed Ruscha among others); a performance by New York’s avant-garde Theatre of the Ridiculous of *Lady Godiva*; a poetry reading by Gerard Malanga; a performance by the Fugs; presentations by judges, lawyers, and national representatives of the CDL; and films by “Andy Warhol, Jean Genet, Andrew Noren, Kuchar Brothers, Jack Smith, and others.” “Delegate cards,” which entitled the holder to attend all events, were available to students (\$2), faculty and staff (\$3), and the general public (\$5). Single tickets were also available for many of the events, though the delegate cards were, it seems, designed to give the organizers some control of the audience for especially sensitive or controversial exhibitions: “Due to limited capacity, only delegates [would] be admitted to films and several other conference events.”³⁶

By all accounts the opening Ginsberg event succeeded, with an “overflow crowd” and Ginsberg, in an ND sweatshirt, reading, chanting, and saying to the crowd, “I didn’t come prepared for the Pornography and Censorship Conference. The occasion is scary, then, for all of us.”³⁷ The *South Bend Tribune* kept an eye on the proceedings, observing that “only about a dozen persons left during the 90 minutes he recited, and those were all men. . . . The audience included many young women and several conservatively dressed middle-aged women, who, according to their facial expressions, enjoyed the poetry a la Ginsberg.”³⁸ The next day, some rough patches developed: concerns were raised that the art show and *Flaming Creatures* (figure 15.2) might be in violation of Saint Joseph County criminal statutes. Since the county prosecutor had recently been active in two cases against local bookstores, since members of CDL were both part of the conference and had expressed skepticism about it, and since ND student opinion about the merits of the conference seemed divided (the school paper had editorialized that it was “inappropriate”),



Fig. 15.2 A scheduled showing of Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* (1963) seen here, among other films, at the "Pornography and Censorship Conference" at Notre Dame University degenerated into a boisterous student protest and police action on the campus in February 1969. (Frame enlargement.)

the organizers proceeded with caution.³⁹ Conference organizers opened the art show after a sit-in of about 350 students demanded entry, but they cancelled *Flaming Creatures* midscreening, which apparently had been mislabeled and wasn't to have been shown, but they promised the other films would run the next day.⁴⁰ That evening, *Lady Godiva*, complete with female nudity, took the stage.⁴¹

The threats of legal action were reiterated on Friday. About six hundred students and a few faculty met to discuss a student-initiated petition against the showing of the films and decide how to proceed. The *South Bend Tribune* reported that a vote was held with 244—"probably most . . . [being] members of the Students for a Democratic Society, a radical group"—in favor of showing at least Andrew Noren's *Kodak Ghost Poems* and 128 opposed.⁴² Between two hundred and three hundred students, along with Noren, then took over a lecture hall and prepared to show *Kodak Ghost Poems* and, possibly, some of the other films, including *Flaming Creatures*. Apparently alerted by members of the CDL, about thirty sheriff's deputies, many in plain clothes, arrived on campus. Six

made their way to the auditorium and, without identifying themselves or showing a warrant (which they did have), attempted to confiscate the films. Students surrounded the projectors and passively resisted, but the officers discovered Kathy Cecil attempting to smuggle the films out of the room under her dress, knocked her down, took the films, and left with the students in pursuit. Outside the students pelted the deputies with snowballs and attempted to block access to their cars. The deputies responded with mace, spraying about fifteen students, and took refuge in the Faculty Club, finally escaping out the back. In the aftermath, the Student Union Academic Commission voted 240–120 to cancel the remaining conference events.⁴³

A bit more than a week after this “fracas,” the president of Notre Dame, Father Theodore Hesburgh, issued a new “tough policy” on how the university would handle “disruptive demonstrators”: The dean of students would determine whether a protest impeded the normal university operations. If it did, protesters would be given fifteen minutes to stop. If they persisted, students would be suspended and nonstudents would be turned over to civil authorities as trespassers.⁴⁴ Although the policy with its focus on disruption and disorder was clearly precipitated by the conference events, it was also a response to a larger set of issues. These ranged from a nonviolent-but-much-noticed ND protest against Dow Chemical and CIA campus recruiting in the fall of 1968, to the blossoming of protests on many other campuses that year; from the local crackdown on “obscenity,” to nationally shifting sexual mores; and from a desire within ND to ensure academic freedom, to a pushback against that effort both by the Catholic Church magisterium and by anxious Americans, not always Catholic, who saw increasing appeal in the church’s hierarchy, clear rules, and moral code.

A week after Hesburgh announced his policy, President Nixon sent him a letter, released simultaneously to the press, lauding him and using the occasion to initiate investigations into how the federal government might intervene in university protests.⁴⁵ Hesburgh, who had been trying to renegotiate ND’s relation to the church and who was a spokesman for Catholic educators seeking more autonomy, hardly welcomed this idea.⁴⁶ But the fact that the academic freedom he championed had been used to show “obscene” films, which had in turn led to a riot, required damage control. Notre Dame would continue to assert its autonomy, its liberality, and its scholarly bona fides, but it wouldn’t again be put in the position of having its students seen shamelessly looking at shameless displays of cinematic sex.

Deep Throat and Circle K

Nearly five years after the ND conference, the W&M conference “Pornography and the Law” came about for many of the same reasons—most pointedly as a student challenge to perceived paternalism, both inside and outside the university. The cultural, political, and legal landscape were different, however, as were the specific local circumstances. In 1969, U.S. involvement in Vietnam was escalating, and Richard Nixon was just starting his presidency. By 1973, U.S. combat forces were out of Vietnam, and Nixon was embroiled in the Watergate scandal. In 1969, Notre Dame was a rising school—private and with a national reputation—at the geographic margins of a small, declining industrial city. In 1972–1973, W&M was a state-run school attempting to capitalize on its history as the second oldest college in the United States and its location next to the pioneering living history museum, Colonial Williamsburg. It sat squarely in the middle of a small town that was rapidly expanding as a tourist and retirement destination.

Although W&M students had participated in the political activism of the late 1960s, they had been a comparatively muted presence on the campus and in the town. There had been no equivalent to the ND sit-in in opposition to the CIA and certainly no rioting. Multiple factors contributed to the relative quiet, but important among them were a deeply conservative college president, the ongoing work to integrate the college (as well as the town and its schools), and, perhaps paramount for focusing student energy, the struggle to modernize the college’s parietal rules. Instead of a sit-in opposing the CIA, in October 1969 W&M students had held a “dorm-in” to protest visitation restrictions—limits that were finally eliminated at the start of the school year starting in 1972, just as ND was matriculating its first women.⁴⁷ In this context, the newly visible pornographic feature films of the early seventies—understood to circulate nationally and globally but consumed locally—provided focus at W&M for expression and debate.

If Notre Dame sat somewhat aloof and off at the edge of South Bend—a circumstance perhaps emphasized by the paucity of off-campus advertising, including ads for movie theaters, in the school’s newspaper—William & Mary sat right in the center of Williamsburg. Consequently, the college’s students had easy access to the town’s two commercial movie theaters, the Williamsburg Theatre and the Blane Twin Cinemas, both within walking distance of the campus, and the college’s students were often on the minds of the theaters’ managers. The Williamsburg

Theatre, immediately adjacent to the college, had been in the increasingly tourist-dominated center of town since 1933, when it replaced another cinema that had stood at the same site from the early 1920s. The Blane opened in 1969 in a developing area of town meant for locals and, to a lesser degree, students, as opposed to tourists; a couple years earlier, the Chamber of Commerce had feared this area was falling prey to “honky tonk’ blight,” and the Blane along with other businesses were perhaps intended to counter this trend.⁴⁸ Williamsburg resident and theater employee Clay Riley recalls that the two theaters illegally colluded to split product and, in theory, share the market, but that Williamsburg was most receptive to general audience fare and attracted tourists, families, and older residents, as well as students.⁴⁹ This situation left the Blane searching for its niche and product it could call its own, which over time yielded a grab bag of blaxploitation, spaghetti westerns, contentious art films, horror, and, eventually, pornography. After trying to sell itself as a family-oriented theater, first with all-ages films and later with Saturday matinees for children, Paul Blane, the theater’s owner and manager, grew willing to risk controversy to draw an audience. In 1969, he screened *I am Curious (Yellow)* and moved from there to screening softcore sex films such as *Is There Sex After Death?* (1971) and *The Erotic Adventures of Zorro* (1972).⁵⁰

Starting on September 20, 1972, the Blane began showing Gerard Damiano’s soon-to-be porn classic *Deep Throat*. In context, this move over the line from soft to hardcore both was and wasn’t a programming shift. The film ran two weeks without obvious local controversy.⁵¹ Further, our local informants—admittedly a small, all-male sample—recall the Blane’s regular *Deep Throat* showings (and most of its softcore, as well as other porn they saw in the region) as all-male affairs, suggesting that perhaps this move “on/scene” was incremental and comparatively modest—no apparent couples audience for Williamsburg.⁵²

Deep Throat was enough of a success that Blane revived it in March 1973. Before the run began, a letter written to the *Daily Press*, a regional newspaper, revealed a citizen’s complaints that the Blane “pointedly aimed [‘a fairly steady diet of X-rated and provocative films’] at possible lucrative trade from curious young people” and, further, that “lax [ID] screening policies permit school kids of a tender age to see this trash.”⁵³ (One of our interviewees confirmed that it was quite easy to buy a ticket for one film at the Blane Twin and sneak into the other; he had used this strategy to see *I am Curious [Yellow]* with his girlfriend.⁵⁴) The local Commonwealth’s attorney subsequently asked Blane to close the film,



Fig. 15.3 The marquee of the Blane Twin Cinema and the headline from page one of the *William & Mary Flat Hat*, March 20, 1973. (Courtesy William & Mary *Flat Hat*.)

arguing that based on precedents elsewhere local courts would likely find it obscene. Blane acquiesced and announced his decision to his audience with a spectacular marquee (figure 15.3).⁵⁵

“We Apologize ‘Throat’ Has Been Cut”

Enter Cornell Christianson, a William & Mary junior and president of the College’s Student Assembly. More than three-quarters of W&M students were Virginians in the early seventies, but Christianson was from New Jersey, and he considered it imperative, as well as in keeping with his liberal political views, that W&M and Williamsburg be open to a variety of perspectives—perhaps especially controversial ones. The national attention recently lavished upon *Deep Throat* had apparently captured the imaginations of enough of the student body to make its cancellation a disappointment. Christianson saw an opportunity. In an attempt to allow curious students to see the film while avoiding the Commonwealth’s attorney and public criticism, Christianson collaborated with

Blane to arrange for a screening for students only, with proceeds benefiting the campus's Circle K charity and its efforts to buy a new activity bus. The showings sold out, attracting an audience of 805 people and raising \$402.50 as well as some controversy over how such affiliations might sully the reputations of Circle K (which accepted the money), the college, or the college's new president.⁵⁶

Pornography in Williamsburg might have ended there, but the summer of 1973 yielded the U.S. Supreme Court's *Miller v. California* ruling. *Miller* formalized President Nixon's and Congress's rejection of the 1971 recommendations of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography that porn be decriminalized. Further, by confirming the place of local community standards for judging obscenity, *Miller* complicated the developing national market for hardcore film pornography, proved the Williamsburg Commonwealth's attorney's right, threatened a significant revenue source for the Blane Twin, and reminded students that though W&M now gave them the liberty to visit one another's rooms, there were still those who did not want students to look at certain things and certainly did not want them to be seen looking.⁵⁷

Prompted by the *Deep Throat* cancellation, *Miller v. California*, and by Richmond and Norfolk-area prosecutions related to *The Devil in Miss Jones* over the summer of 1973, Christianson collaborated with students from the William & Mary Law School and with Blane to conceive an event that would examine the legal ramifications of publicly exhibiting sexually explicit materials while highlighting the spectacular aspects of the topic. Across the early fall, local and regional newspapers trumpeted names of possible guests: Barry Goldwater, Hubert Humphrey, Allen Ginsberg, Hugh Hefner, Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, Linda Lovelace.⁵⁸

Supported with Student Association and Student Bar Association funds, the conference took place on Saturday, September 29, 1973. Constitutional scholar and chairman of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, William B. Lockhart opened with an address detailing the history of the censorship cases that were precedents for *Miller*. Four panels on various implications of the ruling followed. A panel of writers, publishers, attorneys, and law professors discussed the decision's effects on the publishing industry. Next a panel focused on the ruling as it pertained to the film industry. Here Ira Goldberg, a professor of Constitutional Law at Rutgers University, seemed to capture the sense of a number of panelists when he said,

I can't help having the feeling as I've been listening today that this symposium was organized by Franz Kafka. There's a certain illusion about

it all. We're talking about a decision by the Supreme Court that no one seems to understand, which does something about obscenity which no one can define, which is to be suppressed to protect us from a danger which no one can define either. I find it all very puzzling.⁵⁹

The third panel dealt with issues pertaining to the decision's effects on the local community. The talks culminated with the main celebrity panel of Russ Meyer, Judith Crist, Robert K. Dornan, Pat Robertson, Gerard Damiano, and Greg Morris. It featured panelists yelling at each other (Dornan started this pattern early in the day and kept it up), an attorney attempting to serve papers on Damiano (he'd already been served), and discussion that ran considerably past the scheduled end time.

Held in the college's cavernous new basketball arena, the first panels drew little more than one hundred people at most, but there were at least eight hundred for the celebrity panel. Although the conference proceedings were transcribed, it is difficult to determine who was in attendance. The invited participants were a more diverse lot than had been at Notre Dame in 1969, where the participants, except some of the performers in *Lady Godiva*, were all men and all white. Among the twenty-seven W&M panelists, there were four women and two African Americans. In their discourse, the panelists seem to indicate that significant numbers of women were also in the audience, but no photographs of the crowd at the event exist to confirm this. In the Q&A sessions that ended each panel, the majority of questioners seem to be men. However, two questioners who capped the evening were women—one a law school student, the other the wife of a law school student—who battled with Dornan and Robertson over their paternalism and issues of freedom of speech.⁶⁰ According to the follow-up reporting on the conference, these women—who were anti-*Miller* if not pro-porn and who seemed fully aware of how issues of "local standards" had been used for racially repressive purposes in Virginia and elsewhere—represented the clear majority of the feeling of the audiences throughout the day.⁶¹

After the panels were screenings at the Blane of Damiano's *The Devil in Miss Jones*—with the sheriff and judge sent by the Commonwealth's attorney to watch the watchers—and Russ Meyer's *Vixen!* (1968), neither of which had ever shown in town. The screenings were only open to those who had registered for the conference and were reportedly enthusiastically attended by about seven or eight hundred people, many of whom, apparently, had paid the dollar registration, skipped the panels, and attended only the films. The effect of the screenings, which the Commonwealth's attorney had been so concerned about, was in the blasé, if also

somewhat disappointed, words of the W&M student paper's editors "less than a state of shock."⁶²

The conference had attempted to address attitudes on censorship and obscenity in American society by way of the *Miller* ruling, with constant emphasis on screen hardcore. Richard Williamson, a panel participant and law professor at William & Mary, recalls that the conference was successful insofar as it promoted a "juicy" discussion of a hot-topic legal issue.⁶³ Despite the surveillance of *The Devil in Miss Jones* no police were called in, so in contrast to the ND event in 1969, the conference apparently took a step toward legitimizing a taboo topic—the representation and discussion of sex in public, a topic many of the panelists and questioners linked to sex education—both positioning it in an academic context and seeking communitywide involvement. However, the press after the conference seemed to view the event as something of an "anti-climax," though it's hard not to see that as partly the fault of the giant venue and, judging from the comments of several panelists, a torrentially rainy day.⁶⁴ Besides losing money, it didn't reveal any new positions or ideas but rather clarified clearly divided ground. And the functional effect of the clarification was this: No more public pornography in Williamsburg or at W&M. William & Mary students could visit one another freely in their dorms, but they couldn't use public representations of sex and sexuality to imagine and discuss what might happen if they did.

Two weeks after the conference, the Blane again courted controversy by playing *Last Tango in Paris*. But there was none. It never showed hardcore films again. About six months later Paul Blane sold his theater to the Martin Cinema chain, which promised it would show nothing stronger than R-rated films. "Williamsburg has seen its last x-rated movie," the local paper announced with confidence.⁶⁵ The theater continued to run as a chain cinema until 2001, when it closed and was turned into an Evangelical Christian church.

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Maybe, then, Jon Lewis is right that "the academy's confirmation of the cultural significance of porn affirmed the fact that by 1973 hardcore was no longer so significant."⁶⁶ But the testiness of the exchanges at the W&M event—even if they didn't involve mace—together with the number of people who came out to take part in Williamsburg that fall at least hint that the case was not yet closed. For a variety of people on different sides of the issue of the public consumption of porn, the stakes were still high. By 1973 at the W&M conference, speaking for the CDL Robert Dornan ceded the territory of the home consumption of pornography, but

collective, public consumption—instances in which the “mature audience” could be seen looking—remained of paramount concern.⁶⁷ Over the coming years, Dornan’s position prevailed: porn has moved off the public stage. But it has also proliferated, leading Linda Williams to write of the “paradox” of “on/scenity”: pornography that is known and available to the public, but at the same time not *in* public.⁶⁸

Indeed, because the moments of explicit cinematic sexual representations truly *on-scene*—public, collective—were so brief at Notre Dame and William & Mary, we may still be living in some ways with the consequences of the spectacular repression of the ND conference and the perceived “anti-climax” of the W&M conference, as well as the apparent absence of similar events at other college campuses (figure 15.4). As we researched and wrote this chapter, events that seemed distant suddenly began to echo, increasingly loudly, in the present. A little digging revealed controversies around motion picture pornography at places such as Yale, Carnegie Mellon, and the University of California San Diego. What was controversial in all these instances was no longer motion picture porn per se, since that is available to most anyone in the United States with access to a DVD player or the Internet. Rather, what was controversial is that college students were being public with their motion picture pornography, both as consumers (at Carnegie Mellon) and producers (Yale, though perhaps mythically, and UCSD). Like the students at ND in 1969 and at W&M in 1973, they were willing to be—insistent, even, on being—seen seeing.

And as we worked, the echoes grew louder and closer. At Notre Dame and William & Mary in the last decade, students wishing to display in public and reflect on feminist and queer sexualities encountered significant resistance—most pointedly focused on film. At Notre Dame, in response to criticisms by the church hierarchy and dis-ease by administrators, a “Queer Film Festival” (2004, 2005) became “Gay and Lesbian Film: Filmmakers, Narratives and Spectatorship” (2006) and the elusively named “Qlassics” (2007) before ceasing altogether. None of the films shown at these events (e.g., *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* [2001]) would qualify as pornography or “obscene” in a legal sense, but they still qualified as things Notre Dame students shouldn’t be seen (publicly) seeing.⁶⁹ At William & Mary, students for four years (2006–2009) sponsored campus visits by the Sex Workers Art Show (SWAS), which was predominantly a set of live performances. Student organizers told us that the only part of the show that was not permitted on campus in any form was a segment of the show that would have shown old stag films, presumably because—unlike the live show, which uses words and simu-

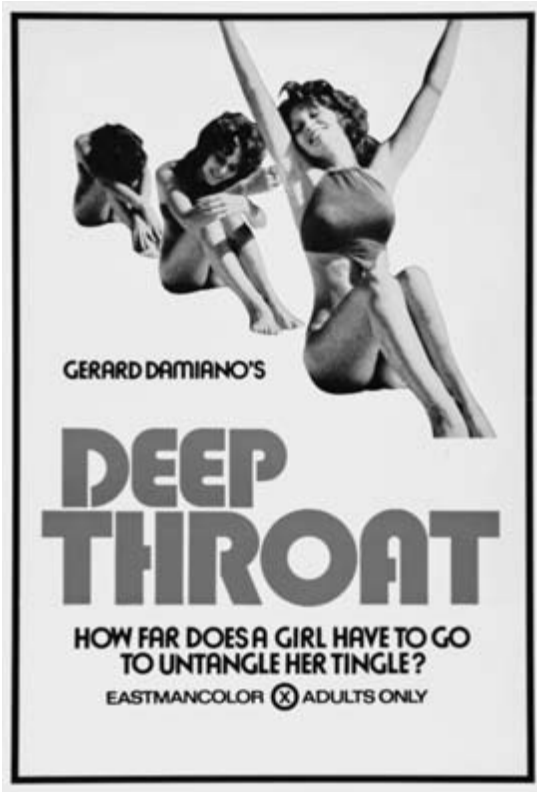


Fig. 15.4 Although there is no evidence that after its final screenings at the Blane Cinemas, *Deep Throat* (or other films widely recognized as pornography) played publicly in Williamsburg, the concerns it raised about the appropriateness of open, public discussions about sex and sexuality continued to resonate at the College of William & Mary for years to come.

lations and not much nudity—they photographically represented penetrative sex.⁷⁰ In each successive year, SWAS saw increasing controversy. In 2008, four members of the college’s governing Board of Visitors were called before the State Assembly, and the College’s president—a constitutional scholar who refused to prohibit the show—found that his contract would not be renewed; this event materialized fears expressed in 1973 that the then-President might pay with his job for allowing porn on campus.⁷¹

It is certainly wishful thinking to believe that the peaceful completion of the Notre Dame conference in 1969 or the “success” of the William & Mary conference in 1973 would have led to some utopian state of affairs vis-à-vis public discussions of sex and sexuality.⁷² What might have constituted such a success? It’s hard to say, but we have an anecdote that is, perhaps, illuminating: probably at the same time as the postcancellation Circle-K benefit showing of *Deep Throat* at the Blane Cinemas, a late show of the film was also offered for the many members of William & Mary’s sororities. The showing was not formally advertised but rather

promoted by word of mouth. David Essex, a W&M alumni who told us about this show (Paul Blane confirmed that it took place), was one of small group of four or five men who got the word and decided to see if they could crash—wearing trench coats and Groucho glasses. According to Essex, the sorority women had come out en masse, packing the theater, and they welcomed him and his friends with bemusement. However, once the show started, he says, things got uncomfortable for the men—not because the women made them feel unwelcome—in fact, they no longer seemed to notice Essex and his friends. Rather, what was discomfiting was the atmosphere of intensity that developed as the women watched and commented on *Deep Throat*, sometimes with banter—“It’ll never taste the same” yelled out during the film’s infamous Coca Cola sex scene—but more often with a sort of collective groan that Essex very much understood did not signify pleasure. On top of that, he and his friends quickly realized that in this context they were no longer certain how they felt about the pleasures and desires the film was soliciting from them.⁷³ For these women and these few men in Williamsburg in 1973, pornography wasn’t just between men anymore, and they were given a brief sense of how a differently configured, differently gendered world of pleasure and desire might look: not, apparently, much like *Deep Throat*. Such an understanding—however initial, rudimentary, and underexplored—could only begin because the obscene was brought on/scene in unprecedented ways for the sorority women of William & Mary. And, at least in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1973—though we think Williamsburg was not wholly exceptional—that could only happen, briefly and provisionally, because porn could go to college.

Notes

1. Jon Lewis, *Hollywood v. Hardcore: How the Struggle over Censorship Saved the Modern Film Industry* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 269. “Pornography Joins the Curriculum,” *Variety*, August 8, 1973, 3, cited in Lewis.
2. Lewis, *Hollywood v. Hardcore*, 269.
3. Arthur Knight has been a faculty member at W&M, 1993 to the present, and Kevin M. Flanagan was an undergraduate there, 2002 to 2006. Knight’s father-in-law taught at ND from 1968 until 2005, and he has friends on the current faculty; Flanagan’s father is an ND alumnus, class of 1973. We should note that because Knight is a faculty member at a Virginia state-supported school, state law requires that he not use any state-owned equipment—e.g., his office computer—to view pornographic or obscene material. Scholars at Virginia state schools may use their office computers to view what may be pornographic material *for research purposes*, as long as they first get permission from the des-

ignated authority—in Knight’s case, the College’s dean of Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Knight obtained such permission, for which he thanks former Dean Carl Strikwerda.

4. “Film Is Confiscated in Nieuwland Hall; Ensuing Struggle Results in Injuries,” *Notre Dame Observer*, February 8, 1969 (special ed.), 1.
5. Phone interview with Judith Crist, January 26, 2006. For a written account of this story see Crist, “The Critical Years,” May 1997. Accessed October 11, 2011, /gos.sbc.edu/c/crist.html. Crist told us that after missing the opportunity with “Breaking in Blondie,” she waited nearly a decade and saw her first “blue movie” as part of two of Alex de Renzy’s “documentaries,” *Pornography in Denmark* (1970) and *A History of the Blue Movie* (1970), and that *Deep Throat* was the first pornographic narrative feature she saw.
6. Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the “Frenzy of the Visible,”* exp. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 282.
7. Our section subtitle is borrowed from Richard Schickel, “Porn and Man at Yale,” *Harper’s*, July 1970, 34–38. Schickel’s title is a revision of William F. Buckley Jr.’s conservative critique of his alma mater, *God and Man at Yale: The Superstitions of “Academic Freedom”* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1951).
8. Crist interview. Waugh, “Homosociality in the Classical American Stag Film: Off-Screen, On-Screen,” *Porn Studies*, ed. Linda Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 132–133. Morris E. Massey, “A Marketing Analysis of Sex-Oriented Materials in Denver, August 1969: A Pilot Study” in *Technical Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*, vol. 4: *The Marketplace: Empirical Studies* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 64. Other commission researchers found that significant numbers of adult bookstores were located “near a university or college,” especially in the south and north central regions. See John J. Sampson, “Commercial Traffic in Sexually Oriented Materials in the United States (1969–1970),” in *Technical Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*, vol. 3: *The Marketplace: The Industry* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 110–111.
9. From 1957 to 1964, Masters and Johnson also had their research center—less well known to the public than Kinsey’s—at Washington University in St. Louis.
10. For “Richmond’s First Adult Theatre,” which details the Lee Art Theatre’s life in that role, no date, accessed February 20, 2006, as well as other articles on its history of in its various incarnations, see www.library.vcu.edu/jbc/spec_coll/lee.html. See also “Movie Morlocks: The Lee-Art Theatre? An Introduction to Continental Adult Cinema,” May 31, 2008. Accessed October 11, 2011, moviemorlocks.com/2008/05/31/the-lee-art-theatre-an-introduction-to-continental-adult-cinema.
11. Louis Zurcher Jr. and R. George Kirkpatrick, *Citizens for Decency: Antipornography Crusades as Status Defense* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), 51, 53, 55–73. “Southtown” was probably Austin; “Midville” may be Ann Arbor or East Lansing, MI. *Citizens for Decency* began as part of the research for the

- Commission on Obscenity and Pornography; see Zurcher and Kirkpatrick, "Collective Dynamics of Ad Hoc Antipornography Organizations," in *Technical Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*, vol. 5: *Societal Control Mechanisms*, 83–142.
12. Harold Nawy, "The San Francisco Erotic Marketplace," in *Technical Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*, 4: 200–203.
 13. Sampson, "Commercial Traffic in Sexually Oriented Materials in the United States," in *Technical Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*, 3:37.
 14. "How Skin Flicks Hit Bible-Belt Waterloo, Iowa," *Newsweek*, December 21, 1970, 26.
 15. Charles Winick, "Some Observations on Characteristics of Patrons of Adult Theaters and Bookstores," in *Technical Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*, 4:234.
 16. Kenneth Turan and Stephen F. Zito, *Sinema: American Pornographic Films and the People Who Make Them* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 102.
 17. Nawy, "The San Francisco Erotic Marketplace," 180–181.
 18. Mary Rexroth quoted in Turan and Zito, *Sinema*, 102.
 19. Schaefer, "Gauging a Revolution: 16mm Film and the Rise of the Pornographic Feature," *Cinema Journal* 41, no. 3 (spring 2002): 3–26, 14. Turan and Zito, *Sinema*, 168. See also McNeil and Osborne, *The Other Hollywood: The Uncensored Oral History of the Porn Film Industry* (New York: Reagan Books, 2005), 81, 84.
 20. Schaefer, "Gauging a Revolution," 14.
 21. Schickel, "Porn and Man at Yale," 35.
 22. Zurcher and Kirkpatrick, *Citizens for Decency*, 51; the authors use free indirect discourse, so this exact phrase may be theirs rather than belonging to Midville reformer "Mrs. Roberts."
 23. Crist interview.
 24. Schickel, "Porn and Man at Yale," 35–38. See also *Independent Film Journal*, April 1, 1970, 18. According to Schickel's report, this retrospective also had some scholarly component, though more in an auteurist—and for Schickel, funny—vein. Roger Ebert delivered opening remarks, and there was a discussion of "Art and Pornography" and a "concluding seminar."
 25. "Flesh King has Fourth Festival," *Hollywood Reporter*, September 21, 1971, 8, quoted in David K. Frasier, *Russ Meyer: The Life and Films. A Biography and a Comprehensive, Illustrated and Annotated Filmography and Bibliography* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland Classics, 1990), 46; see also similar citations in Frasier, 44–50. Meyer's presence on so many campuses was likely due to the promotional muscle of 20th Century-Fox, which produced his first Hollywood feature: *Beyond the Valley of the Dolls* (1970).
 26. See Linda Lovelace and Mike McGrady, *Out of Bondage* (Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1986), 12–13, 20, 190, 203, and various interviews in McNeil and Osborne, *The Other Hollywood*.

27. "Underground Newspaper Collection" (Bell & Howell Micro Photo Division, 1970-1985), 476 reels.
28. See, for example, Jeff Shero, "Playboy's Tinselled Seductress," *Austin Rag* 1, no. 1 (n.d.): 4, and "Sexual Freedom League is Dead," *Austin Rag*, 1, no. 2 (August 17, 1966): 1. For a few examples of nudity featured in marketing the underground press, see *Austin Rag*, 2, no. 12 (January 29, 1968): 14; *Pterodactyl* [Grinnell, IA], February 3, 1968, 1; *Washington Free Press*, July 16-30, 1970, n.p. Examples of nudity used prominently in ads in the underground press are so numerous as to make sampling unnecessary.
29. R. E. Maxon, "Sex Papers Subvert the Undergrounds," "AFS Packet #78," January 19, 1973. On this phenomenon, see also "Alternative Media," *Austin Rag*, October 9, 1972, 5. For examples of differing reactions to *Deep Throat* in the alternative, college-related press, see Ed Naha, "Movie Review: *Deep Throat*," *Free Aquarian* [Passaic, NJ], January 1973, 73; Valentina, "Deep Throat," *All You Can Eat* [New Brunswick, NJ], March 1973, 20; and "The Daily Texan and *Deep Throat*," *Austin Rag*, June 17, 1974.
30. *Ghent Press*, September 1973.
31. "This is Insane, I Can't Believe It" (editorial), *Notre Dame Observer*, February 8, 1969 (special issue), 3; the quotation is attributed to Notre Dame English professor Peter Michelson.
32. Photo caption, *Notre Dame Observer*, February 8, 1969 (special edition), 1.
33. Richard W. Conklin, "For Release A.M. Papers, Sunday, Feb. 4th [1968]," University of Notre Dame Department of Public Information press release; "A Seminar on the Problem of Obscenity" program brochure, n.d., both in the University of Notre Dame Archives.
34. "Study Obscenity Problem," *South Bend Tribune*, January 14, 1968, 26.
35. "A Seminar on the Problem of Obscenity" program brochure, back cover.
36. "Pornography and Censorship Conference" advertisement, *Notre Dame Observer*, January 10, 1969, 7.
37. "At Pornography Kick-off: Overflow Crowd Hears Ginsberg Chant, Recite," *Notre Dame Observer*, February 6, 1969, 2.
38. William Stoner, "Ginsberg Lauded at Recital at N.D.," *South Bend Tribune*, February 6, 1969, 38.
39. "Inappropriate," *Notre Dame Observer*, February 7, 1969, 6.
40. "Art Show, Film Cancellation Brings Legal Issues," *Notre Dame Observer*, February 7, 1969, 2. Patricia Koval, "Hesburgh Cancels Pornography Films: N.D. Conference Plans Upset by Abrupt Halt in Showing," *South Bend Tribune*, February 7, 1969, 17.
41. Michael Patrick O'Connor, "Lady Godiva Comes in a Quaker Oats Box," *Notre Dame Observer*, February 7, 1969, 7. See also "Hesburgh Cancels Pornography Films" in the same issue.
42. Patricia Koval, "Calm after Fracas over Film: End of Pornography Conference," February 8, 1969, 1, 3. On the petition, see "Student Petition Blasts Conference Films," *Notre Dame Observer*, February 7, 1969, 4.

43. "Police Raid Screening of Film: Pornography-Censorship Conference Cancelled," *Notre Dame Observer*, February 8, 1969 (special edition), 1; the entirety of this issue is dedicated to the events of Friday, February 7. See also "Calm after Fracas over Film."
44. Patricia Koval, "N.D. Adopts Tough Policy: Statements on Protests Issued by Hesburgh," *South Bend Tribune*, February 17, 1969, 1, 2. See also John Leo, "Notre Dame Gives Warning: Hesburgh Threatens Ousters," *New York Times*, February 18, 1969, 1, 25; in this article, "students forced their way into a campus building to show stag movies."
45. Nan Robertson, "Nixon Letter Hails Notre Dame for Tough Stand on Disruption," *New York Times*, February 25, 1969, 29. See also Patricia Koval, "Polled Students Support N.D. Policy," *South Bend Tribune*, February 18, 1969, 15; and "Excerpts from Hesburgh's Letters to Agnew and Notre Dame Students," *New York Times*, February 28, 1969, 18.
46. "Notre Dame President Sees Threat of Outside Control," *South Bend Tribune*, February 20, 1969, 25. For more on Hesburgh in this era, see also Thomas J. Fleming, "Hesburgh of Notre Dame—(1) 'He's Destroying This University' (2) 'He's Bringing It into the Mainstream of American Life,'" *New York Times Magazine*, May 11, 1969, 56–57, 59–65.
47. For a full account of the W&M "dorm-in" see Susan H. Godson et al., *The College of William & Mary: A History*, vol. 2 (Williamsburg, VA: King and Queen Press, 1993), 825–842.
48. James S. Kelly, President, Williamsburg Chamber of Commerce, letter to members, June 8, 1967. Thanks to Will Molineux for bringing our attention to and sharing his copy of this with us.
49. Interview with Clay Riley, January 13, 2006.
50. Programming shifts of this nature this have been oft noted in relation to urban centers (e.g., the Times Square cinemas of New York), but the Blane makes clear this not just an urban phenomenon. See Cook, *Lost Illusions: American Cinema in the Shadow of Watergate and Vietnam 1970–1979* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
51. The Blane cannily programmed only other adult fare—e.g., *Cabaret*—in its second theater when *Deep Throat* ran, though it did have, late in the run, one kiddie matinee of *Lassie, Come Home*.
52. Interviews with Riley; Robert Jeffrey, January 10, 2006; David Essex, January 16, 2006; and Richard Williamson, January 9, 2006.
53. Name Withheld By Request, "Filthy Flicks and Laxity of Screening" [letter to the editor], *Daily Press*, March 13, 1973, 4. In this period the *Daily Press* carried a steady stream of letters debating whether to censor pornography in print and, especially, on screen. In seeming response, the paper had started to enforce a policy against explicit advertisements for film; thus the Blane did not advertise *Deep Throat* in the *Daily Press* for this second run.
54. Jeffrey interview.
55. An image of the marquee is preserved thanks to the *Flat Hat*, March 20,

- 1973, 1. By referencing the famous marquee of the New Mature World Theater in New York (see chapter 14, figure 3) when it had been forced to stop showing the film in 1972, Blane was tying his theater to a brewing national phenomenon.
56. *Flat Hat*, March 20, 1973, 3. See also Cornell Christianson and Jerry Hendricks, letter to the editor, *Flat Hat*, March 20, 1973, 6. Circle K International is the college affiliate of the Kiwanis Clubs.
 57. Lewis, *Hollywood v. Hardcore*, 259–266 provides a useful overview of the Miller decision and its effects on the American film industry.
 58. “William & Mary Blush,” “Conference Set on Pornography,” “Senators, Miss Lovelace Asked to Confab at W&M,” undated and unsourced (though the first is credited to the Associated Press) news clippings provided by Cornell Christianson.
 59. “3:30 PM Panel: Effect of Decision on the Film Industry,” 7 1/2. The entire transcript for the conference proceedings is held at the University Archive in the Special Collections of the Earl Gregg Swem Library at the College of William & Mary.
 60. “8 PM—Main Panel: The Effect of the Miller Decision on American Society,” n.p. These two women named themselves, as did most of the questioners that evening. The three panels earlier in the day had not followed this practice.
 61. Jack V. Priest, “Attitudes Were Not Changed at Pornography Conference” and Janet McMahon, “Conference Largely Soap Box Preaching,” *Virginia Gazette*, October 5, 1973, 10; “Two-Faced Pornography” (editorial), *Flat Hat*, October 5, 1973, 8.
 62. “Two-Faced Pornography” and “Campus Sleeps Soundly . . .” (editorial), *Flat Hat*, October 5, 1973, 8; interview with “Anonymous,” September 20, 2006. Anonymous, a graduate of William & Mary from the mid-1970s, still lives in Williamsburg; he was happy to share his memories of the William & Mary event’s film screenings (he did not attend the panels) but preferred not to have his name associated with this event in the historical record. *The Devil in Miss Jones* was also screened the morning before the conference panels began; a number of the conference panelists refer to having seen the film at that screening, but it is not clear if anyone else was invited to that showing.
 63. Williamson interview.
 64. Priest, “Attitudes Were Not Changed at Pornography Conference,” 10.
 65. “Blane Cinemas Changes Hands,” *Virginia Gazette*, April 5, 1974, 5. Not long after selling the cinema, Paul Blane left Williamsburg. He told us that to this day his wife holds that they had to leave because the scandals around the cinema had made continuing to live in the community impossible; he disagrees. Phone interview with Paul Blane, August 8, 2007.
 66. Lewis, *Hollywood v. Hardcore*, 269.
 67. “8 PM—Main Panel,” 15–22.
 68. Linda Williams, “Porn Studies: Proliferating Pornographies On/Scene,” in *Porn Studies*, ed. Linda Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 3–4.

69. Marcela Berrios, "'Classics' Stirs Quiet Controversy: Former Queer Film Festival Undergoes Second Name Change in Two Years to Avoid Conflict," *Notre Dame Observer*, February 12, 2007, accessed April 21, 2008, from the *Observer's* online archives at <http://www.ndsmcobserver.com/archives>. Coverage of this controversy was substantial and ranged from the campus paper to regional presses, the Catholic press, and national outlets such as the *New York Times*; much of it can be found online. After this iteration, the festival ceased.
70. Conversation with Constance Sisk and Sean Barker, April 2006.
71. It is important to emphasize that the nonrenewal of Gene Nichol as William & Mary's president—which led to his voluntary resignation—came about for a complex set of reasons, of which SWAS was just one, and perhaps a minor one. Extensive coverage of the SWAS controversies and the controversies surrounding President Nichol can be found in a variety of sources, including the *Flat Hat* at flathatnews.com and the *Daily Press* at www.dailypress.com.
72. In *Sex and the University: Celebrity, Controversy, and a Student Journalism Revolution* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), Daniel Reimold argues that the rise in the past decade of student-penned sex advice columns in college newspapers constitutes an ongoing and robust public discussion of sex and sexuality on campuses (and sometimes beyond). The William & Mary *Flat Hat* introduced such a column in 2003; the *Notre Dame Observer* does not run a regular column.
73. Essex interview.